The most important gods of the Badagas are Heththeswāmi, Mahālingaswāmi, Hiriya Udaya, Mādeswara, Mānkāli, Jadeśwāmi, and Nīlgiri Rangaswāmi. And at the present day, some Badagas proceed to the plains, to worship at the Saivite temple at Karamadai in Coimbatore, or at Nanjangōd in Mysore.

The festival in honour of Heththeswāmi is celebrated in the month of January at Baireganni. It is sometimes called ermathohabba, as, with it, ploughing operations cease. It always commences on a Monday, and usually lasts eight days. A Sēdan or Dēvānga weaver comes with his portable hand-loom, and sufficient thread for weaving a dhubati (coarse cloth) and turban. At Baireganni there is a special house, in which these articles are woven. But, at other places where the festival is observed, the Badagas go to the weaver's village to fetch the required cloths. Early on the second morning of the festival, some of the more respected Badagas and the weaver proceed to the weaving house after bathing. The weaver sets up his loom, and worships it by offering incense, and other things. The Badagas give him a new cloth, and a small sum of money, and ask him to weave a dhubati and two kachches (narrow strips of cloth). Daily, throughout the festival, the Badagas collect near the temple, and indulge in music and songs. Until the last day, they are not permitted to set eyes on the god Heththeswāmi. On the morning of the last day, the pūjāri, accompanied by all the Badagas, takes the newly woven cloths to a stream, in which they are washed. When they are dry, all proceed to the temple, where the idol is dressed up in them, and all, on this occasion only, are allowed to look at it. Devotees pay a small offering of money, which is placed on a tray near the idol. The crowd begins to disperse in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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In general we may say that Badagas found Christianity of some relevance to them only when they could treat it as an aspect of their own Hindu religion. The manner in which the spiritual message of Christianity was presented led to some wild misunderstandings of what Christianity stood for. Badagas could not comprehend why anyone should want to be converted. They asked Metz (1864, 138) if the new converts '... would soon mount horses and ride about like Europeans, and whether they had got plenty of money by the change?' Clearly some Badagas were viewing conversion as a process of social mobility whereby one should adopt the behaviour patterns of Europeans and abandon those of Badagas; and in this they were not altogether mistaken.

Hindu Reformers

The European missionaries were not the only ones to assume an aggressive posture in the conversion arena. The actions of these aliens prompted a counter-movement of Hindu proselytizing, using evangelistic methods to make the Badagas (and other communities) more orthodox Hindus. These Brahminic missionaries belonged to the Hindu Tractate Group of Madras City, and they visited a number of Badaga villages to distribute pamphlets and set up their own short-lived schools (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41; Eppler, 1900, 306).

A Hindu reform movement that developed without any aid from outside emerged in the village of Edapalli in 1892. There the young Badaga men formed an organization called the Society of Virtuous People (or *Yedapullu Sajjana Sangha*; B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78). Among various proposals they advocated [illegible] ness of body and home, an end to tattooing, education for girls, cessation of lavish spending and of dancing to music at the funerals, stopping the use of drugs and intoxicants, and general adoption of monogamy (except that if one wife proved barren a second wife could be taken but the first should remain with the husband). The account of this society shows it aimed to put right the various 'evils' of Badaga life that Europeans had for so long been condemning. (One automatically thinks of the close parallel between this organization and the Arya Samaj in North India, also active in the last decades of the nineteenth century.) It is worth noting that, while nothing further is heard of the Society of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Virtuous People, the village of Eḍapaḷḷi became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Eḍapaḷḷi seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158–163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . .(B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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recalling that by the early eighteenth century the Sattiyamaṅgaḷa population was largely Christian as a result of proselytization there by the Jesuit Fathers, notably Roberto de' Nobili, from 1643 onwards. Persecution by Tippu Sultan, a Moslem (1749–1799), forced the entire town population to revert to Islam or Hinduism (Société des missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. XII, 234–235; 1938, vol. XVII, 632–633). One is thus left in doubt whether the Irabattaraya cult drew some of its inspiration from this earlier contact with Christianity or whether missionaries in Sattiyamaṅgaḷa in the 1860s prompted this anti-missionary movement.[18]

CONCLUSION

In asking whether Badaga reaction to stress either restored an equilibrium or amounted to a revitalization movement, we must recall the features of revitalization outlined by Wallace and Fuchs.[19] Wallace's view of revitalization as a social process stems from the general hypothesis that under certain circumstances a particular sequence of events is likely to follow.

First, he says (Wallace, 1966, 158–163), a society is in a 'steady state' when disorganization and stress remain tolerable to most people. Certain social groups may find some stressful incident intolerable but their restricted 'correction' does not overthrow the entire social system. Then increasingly large numbers of people may encounter stress from climatic or biotic change, war and conquest, social subordination and acculturation. There follows a sharp rise in crime, illness, alcoholism and anti-social behaviour. A third phase occurs when some people attempt to restore an equilibrium by certain socially dysfunctional means, such as by attacks on 'scapegoat' groups. Individual aberrations become institutionalized efforts to eradicate The Evil.

Once such severe 'cultural distortion' has occurred the society can usually return to a 'steady state' only through a revitalization process. This involves the following recognizable characteristics, according to Wallace: (1) a code is formulated, transforming the stressful conditions into an ideal society; (2) the code is preached in an evangelistic spirit to attract converts; (3) the movement becomes organized with the formulator of the code, the disciples and the sympathetic followers; (4) the code is adapted to face outside threats and to clarify ambiguities; (5) a large part of the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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121 population is converted and control of the communication networks is won, thus achieving the goals of the movement and drastically reducing the symptoms of anomie; (6) the movement changes from being an innovative to being a routinization and maintenance force.

We recognize that Wallace's impressionistic concepts of steady state and social equilibrium leave the reader in serious doubt about how to identify these conditions. If, however, we assume Badaga society was in a 'steady state' prior to the impact of the British (an assumption predicated on our ignorance of the society before the early nineteenth century!); then a phase of cultural 'distortion' had arisen by the middle of the century as the Badagas became increasingly uncertain about their future. Ecological change induced by the new land laws, epidemic diseases, acculturation and some subordination to the ruling caste all produced stressful effects on the social system of the Badagas. Some alcoholism and opium addiction followed as well as the sporadic attacking of opposite factional groups, both Hindu and Christian, within the community.

The stage was thus set for a revitalization movement, but what ● (794) came along? – the cult of Irabattaraya. This cult was formulated by someone, perhaps a Moslem non-Badaga, around 1865, and word of it was spread to many Badaga villages by disciples and gossips. Followers by the hundred made a pilgrimage to where the god was supposedly residing; and after this the cult collapsed in disillusionment. It appears that no one of sufficient charisma had arisen to fuse Badaga sentiments in this particular cult; nor had it proved possible to institute an on-going movement in support of the cult and its anti-European goals. This cult had all the makings of a revitalization movement but failed for want of leadership. It is nonetheless worth noting that the following ten years were marked by no disturbances of any kind among the Badagas.

121 794 If an inability to become routinized was a mark of the Irabattaraya cult it was even more true of the earlier syncretic cult of Jesus Christ, as well as of the temple rebuilding fervour. Indeed no Hindu religious activity in the nineteenth century successfully revitalized this community; the Badagas recall no great charismatic leaders from their recent past (except perhaps the late H.B. Ari Gowder).

121 178 Yet a new 'equilibrium' was achieved by the early years of the present century; or at least the stress became much less acute. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *kāči*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Manihatti priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Tanga:du priests remained in the outer precincts. The Tanga:du Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Manihatti people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Tanga:du. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Manihatti had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Manihatti, Tanga:du and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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578 795 divine prescripts. Badaga Lingayats who have opposed these marriages since about 1925 contend that because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from any caste the girls' families might originally have been in low or even polluting castes; yet once converted there is no means of checking their ancestry. Although these marriages are rare occurrences, the factional split they engendered has been marked by more violence than most: its culmination came one day in 1944 when a thousand or more Lingayat men waged battle with sticks and rocks until restrained by the police. For many years the two groups had not intermarried or dined together and had litigated against each other; after this fight the temples in the feuding village were sealed and festivals were only permitted under police surveillance, separate times being allotted for each side to use the temples. For over a decade this village maintained such a heated division that each faction had its own headman and council. The entire dispute was resolved around 1959, and members of the two factions now dine together and support a single headman and council.[7]

121 A factional dispute over unconventional marriages, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither community-wide nor confined to a single village: it is an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. The Christians are another interest group providing more recent examples.

578 877 In 1955 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Christian posed the same problem. Since this Association had always tacitly been a Hindu organization two factions emerged, one accepting Christian members, the other not. They celebrated their annual Day on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badaga remained in the University.

578 794 Another case concerned Christians alone. Two decades ago a majority of the Badagas and some Tamilians in a Christian village decided it was disrespectful for the minister to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they apparently reasoned from the fact that it would be grossly improper for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided, and those opposed to shoes in church would neither wear them there nor attend the service of a minister who wore shoes. The dispute later subsided and the two sides now interdine and talk

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

beside a stream somewhere. Some very small hamlets still have nothing more like a temple than such an object; but usually they will erect at least a small shed over the image. The average-sized hamlet (of perhaps 80-100 households) has four or five built temples, as well as various minor shrines of the kind just described. In addition there is normally a large temple common to the whole "village". Three temples in the Nilgiris (at Melur, Bokkapur and Bergani) attract devotees from all over the District for their annual festivals (Francis 1908: 316-317, 339-340). The larger temples all have Haruva or Gauda priests, and worship is done regularly once a day or once a week. Smaller temples may only be used once or twice a year, and then at a particular festival. While priests are appointed from among the villagers, or may sometimes be hereditary roles in certain families, they officiate only in their own hamlet or "village", and there is no kind of wider church-like organization to Badaga Śaivism. For the past century, however, Badagas have been making pilgrimages to various of the major South Indian temple centers, the closest being Perur, near Coimbatore, Nanjangud, near Mysore, and Palni. There has thus been contact in recent times with the "great tradition" and its philosophical literature; and this has had the effect of bringing Badaga religious practices closer to those of the plainsmen. This topic will be considered later in the thesis (cf. Chapter VII).

Lingayatism, otherwise known as Vīraśaivism, is one of the more important and most recent schools to develop in Śaivite philosophy. The origin of the present Lingayat philosophical system, qua system, can be traced quite reliably to ca. 1160 A.D. at the Central Indian city of Kalyana, where it was formulated by a saint named Basava. After him came many followers and com-

779 776 (778) (764) Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say 184 779 that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead.

795 (162) Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

621 795 The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

•794 621 (793) Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more

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recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself. There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed composition, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.

The Factions

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There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

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There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (khaćći, or in one dialect khaʔći; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (*cf.* Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

578 hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the
798 two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

578 A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only con-
665 cerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

578 In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the
877 Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

578 Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one
771 of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians
•794 decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a
(793) church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk

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together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

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In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

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In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.